

# SOCIALIST APPEAL

WORKERS OF THE WORLD UNITE.  
ORGAN OF THE REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST PARTY  
BRITISH SECTION OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL.

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# REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST PARTY LAUNCHED

WHILST 100,000 WELSH MINERS WERE DEMONSTRATING A WONDERFUL CLASS SPIRIT AND SOLIDARITY IN THE GREAT WELSH COAL STRIKE, ANOTHER IMPORTANT EVENT IN THE LIFE OF THE WORKING CLASS WAS TAKING PLACE IN LONDON. THE TROTSKYISTS WERE MEETING IN LONDON FOR TWO DAYS FOR THE PURPOSE OF FUSING TOGETHER THE HITHERTO SEPARATE ORGANISATIONS: THE REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALIST LEAGUE AND WORKERS' INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE, INTO ONE UNITED TROTSKYIST PARTY FOR GREAT BRITAIN.

On 11th and 12th March, 1944, 69 delegates and a larger number of visitors from all parts of Great Britain, Eire and Ulster assembled together to thrash out their differences and adopt decisions on the main disputed questions of policy and tactics which had hitherto separated the forces of the Fourth Internationalists in this country.

A fraternal message from the International Secretariat of the Fourth International was delivered and a message of solidarity was sent by the fused organisation to the International and to the Socialist Workers Party of America, whose leaders are serving prison sentences for their fearless fight against the reactionary forces of American imperialism.

The composition of the Conference

nearly every important industrial town being represented.

The significance of this gathering lay not in its numbers, which were relatively small as compared to the conferences of other working class organisations, but in the fact that this was a Bolshevik Conference wherein the discussions and the differences were conducted on the basis of a continuation of the ideas laid down by Lenin and Trotsky in the early years of the Communist International. For Trotskyism is the only living tendency today which continues the programme, the tradition and the methods of Lenin.

The basis of the fusion of the former Revolutionary Socialist League and the former Workers' International League was acceptance of the pro-

## MINERS' LEADERS BETRAY STRUGGLE

BY JOCK HASTON

THE COLLAPSE OF THE GREAT STRIKE OF 100,000 MINERS IN SOUTH WALES HAS NOT ENDED THE DISPUTE OVER THE PORTER AWARD.

This is clear from the bitter feeling which exists not only among the Welsh miners but throughout the coalfields, and by the spread of the wave of anti-Porter Award strikes to Yorkshire, and by the lesser, sporadic strikes in every other coalfield.

To say that the miners' leaders have failed to fulfil their elected task of protecting the interests of the miners is a statement of the facts. Certainly the feeling among the broad masses of the miners is that the leaders have sold out lock, stock and barrel and have participated in as great a betrayal as did J. H. Thomas & Co. in the General Strike of 1926.

### SOME ANOMALIES THAT MUST BE REMOVED

A restatement of all the anomalies which arise out of the Porter Award would be impossible in the scope of this article, the main purpose of which is to draw the lessons which must be learnt from the wave of strikes and the failure of the miners' leaders to fight together with the workers—indeed from their firm stand with the boss class against their own rank and file. It has been estimated that there are about 200 anomalies.

The grandfathers and great grandfathers of the present generation of miners gained the concession of cheap household coal after years of bitter struggle. The attempt to charge 1/6

per week additional to present transport charges imposes an additional wage cut on the miners which slices the so-called minimum wage. In some cases, because of differences between the weight and the number of weeks between deliveries of household coal, miners have to pay from 6/- to 19/6 (in the Welsh valleys) for a ton of coal over the cost of transport. In the case of a father and several sons working in the pit and living at home all have to pay the 1/6 a week addition.

The miners bitterly resent this attempt to rob their wages by this subtle backstairs method and cut at past rights whilst great publicity is given to the establishment of a "national minimum wage."

The chairman of the Merthyr Vale Miners' Lodge put the issue in very picturesque language when he said:

"If we allow them to get away with the robbery of the miners on this our fathers up on the hillside there will rise from their graves and beat us to death with their bones."

The establishment of a national minimum wage is a great step forward for the workers in the industry. The grievance of the miners on this score is that the wage established by the Porter Award falls far short of the minimum required for an adequate living standard and that it is the consumers of coal who have to foot the bill whilst the coal-owners' profits are protected in the most vicious field of capitalist exploitation.

But this minimum wage fails entirely to solve the demands of the skilled miner and piece-worker in the mines.

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## STALIN RECOGNISES BADOGLIO

BY TED GRANT

THE RECOGNITION OF THE GOVERNMENT OF VICTOR EMMANUEL AND MARSHALL BADOGLIO BY STALIN WILL CAUSE TREMENDOUS REPERCUSSIONS AMONG THE ADVANCED WORKERS IN ITALY AND THROUGHOUT THE WORLD.

The masses in Italy have shown their hatred of these Allied puppets in the area under the domination of Anglo-American imperialism by stormy demonstrations of protest.

The Left Parties in Italy, including the so-called "Communist" Party, under this irresistible mass pressure have been continually demanding the resignation of Badoglio, the abdication of the King, and the setting up of a Government which has the "support of the people." And this demand has not risen out of nothing. Badoglio and the King are as much guilty of the crimes of fascism against the Italian people as Mussolini himself. The apparatus of Badoglio's regime is largely composed of former fascists, who have come over to the Allies, as have Badoglio and the Monarchy, because Allied imperialism appeared to be on the winning side.

The hatred of Badoglio and his regime is so strong that without Anglo-American bayonets it could not be maintained. The decision of the Allied imperialists to maintain Badoglio in power till after the fall of Rome at least, resulted in a mass movement of protest in Italy, and not least from the Italian Communist Party. The "Daily Worker" of Monday March 13th, 1944 reported:

"Five thousand demonstrators, crowded into the central part of the Galleria Umberto, lustily cheered denunciations of King Victor Emmanuel and Marshal Badoglio today."

The British C.P. had piously protested against Churchill's statement

on this question and the "Daily Worker" reported under the heading: "CHEERS FOR RUSSIA":

"Although the original purpose of the meeting was to replace the forbidden ten-minute strike of workers called for March 4, as a protest against Mr. Churchill's statement in the House of Commons that the present administration in Italy was the best available until Rome is reached, not one orator mentioned the Prime Minister's name.

It was noticeable that cheers for Britain and America, which have hitherto been a feature of all democratic demonstrations, did not figure in today's proceedings, but every reference to Russia brought tumultuous applause.

"Paolo Tedeschi, the official Communist speaker, announced that the anti-Fascist parties will, in the coming weeks, organise a referendum.

He asked the crowd whether it was true that King Victor exercises authority over Italian soldiers. The crowd loudly replied: 'No!'

Because of the indignation of even mild left-wing circles in the Labour movement in Britain, the C.P. was compelled to feign opposition to Churchill's cynical deal with these fascist scum. In its editorial of March 10th, the "Daily Worker" declared with mock indignation:

"This movement of a nation (strikes in Italy) oversteps and dwarfs alike the ludicrous 'Mussolini Neo-Fascists' that the Germans

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STABBING THE BOYS IN THE BACK

# LESSONS OF THE MINERS' STRIKES

## BUILD A NEW LEADERSHIP

(Continued from page 1)

Already he was earning over the Porter wage and gains nothing from the award at all. On the contrary, now that such workers have Bevin boys to "supervise" in essence they will have a reduction in pay.

Skilled miners are now receiving instructions from the managements part of which reads as follows:

**"... You are hereby appointed to supervise (name of Bevin Boy) in the work of collier for a period of 16 weeks ..."**

This means that they have to train and work together with a Bevin Boy whose minimum wage is established at £5. Of this sum the Government subsidises to the extent of 30/-, the miner has to cut sufficient coal to make up the extra £3. 10. 0. Prior to the introduction of this scheme, a collier working in a stent (or place) could probably earn from £6 to £7 above the wages of a boy of 16 or 17; these boys had a high degree of experience and pit sense. But the collier has now foisted onto him a conscripted lad who has never really experienced working in a pit, and is usually antagonistic to the job. The miner has now to cut additional coal to cover the cost of £1 or 10/- additional wages.

It is to the credit of the Bevin Boys that this is understood by them, and they are demanding that the Government find the additional wages. At a meeting in Merthyr Vale pit between the Bevin Boys and colliers there was a united agreement on this demand and absolutely no antagonism between the boys and the men.

The pit lads have also numerous grievances under the Award. Previously it had been the custom of colliers to give about 4/6 a week (butty money) to the lads out of earnings which was not taxable. This is now assessed as £12 taxable wages for the youths who are called upon to pay £4 a year additional income tax. In many cases this means an actual reduction in wages of a 1d. per week, under the Porter Award.

In each pit the conditions for coal getting and working differ from the other. Indeed they differ within a few yards of each other in the same pit. For the purpose of adjusting the price for the job on piece-work, it is impossible to calculate the cost per ton in Cardiff or in London. This can only be done by the men on the job. The men bitterly resent having their hands tied during the process of negotiations with the management by national agreements, which, they claim work to their disadvantage.

One of the main arguments directed against the miners was that they were "letting the boys on the fighting fronts down," and that the strikes would "endanger the Second Front." This disgusting attempt to separate the soldiers from the miners received no real support in the services or among the working population; despite the fact that it was pushed most pressingly by the leaders of the so-called Communist Party and their leading members in the Miners Unions.

Nor could it. For, apart from the general belief in the justification of the miners' demands, there are thousands and thousands of ex-miners, miners' sons and miners' relatives in the fighting forces who know the conditions down the pits and who were active propagandists in defence of the miners. These men know that the miners are fighting to gain a living wage and thus protect the conditions of the workers in uniform and who will have to return home when the war is over.

The mining villages should be visited by those who are want to criticise the miners. For in the South Wales villages they will see thousands of men who are the victims of a permanent "Second Front." Men with their heads in bandages as the result of a fall of coal or rock below ground. Their faces and bodies disfigured with dirty blue scars as the results of wounds inflicted by falling stones and coal.

In these villages hundreds of men are to be seen about the streets with arms in splints, with legs shattered, hobbling on crutches or sticks: monu-

ments to the bitter and vicious battle for coal. A thousand miners are slaughtered each year in this vicious front below the surface of the earth.

To solve all the basic contradictions in the present coal crisis the most radical but simple measures must be undertaken. The nationalisation of the pits by expropriating the Coal Barons and the operation under a central financial control and plan, and the operation of the pits by committees of miners and technicians is the first, and most necessary elementary step which must be taken. But it is no accident that the Government have failed or refused to take this step. For the present Government is a capitalist Government—pledged to protect the interests of the coalowners.

Despite the Government's statement that the miners' strikes imperil the life of the nation they continue to place the private profit of a few aristocratic exploiters above the daily bread and lives and limbs of 700,000 miners.

It is no accident that Mr. Churchill who was in charge of smashing the striking miners in 1926 said in the recent coal debate that there was no crisis in the coal industry which would justify the nationalisation of the mines. For Churchill is the militant spokesman of Big Business—including coalmining in Britain.

The fact that more than 20 years ago the Sankey Commission demonstrated the entirely reactionary character of

their demands have among the "public". No-one can doubt that if the leaders, Horner, Lawther, Hall, Pearson & Co. supported the men, nothing could stop the miners from getting what they want. They know also that if they don't win now they will be smashed by the boss class in the post-war slump as soon as a favourable opportunity presents itself after the war.

But instead of utilising this favourable opportunity to free the hands of the union from Government fetters, the union leaders are binding the workers' organisations more closely to the state machine.

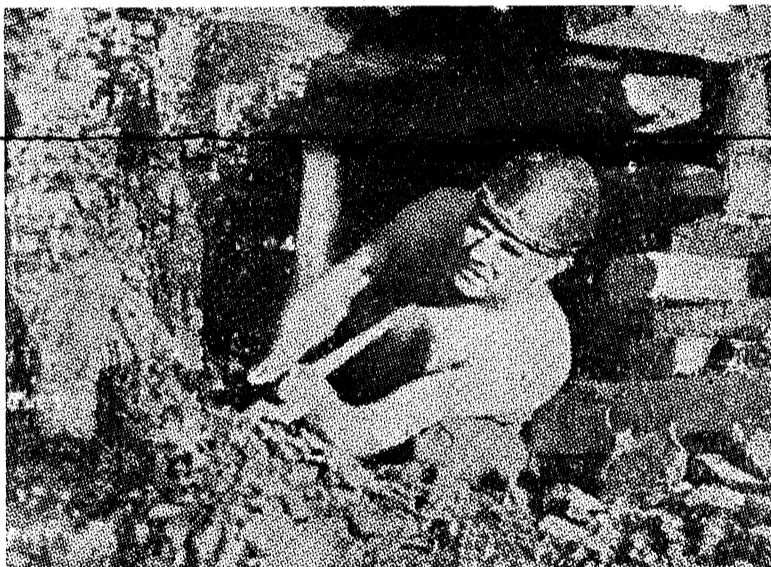
According to the "Daily Telegraph" of March 25th, the Union leaders have agreed, not only to a no strike pledge for the next four years, but to refuse strike funds to such miners as may be forced to strike and come onto the streets.

This is what the Telegraph reports under the sub-head: **No Aid For Rebels:**

### NO AID FOR REBELS

Major Lloyd George particularly stressed to the negotiators the importance he attached to the following paragraph in the agreement:

**"Realising that the purpose of this agreement for a term of years is to secure industrial peace and stability, the parties pledge themselves to use their full authority to ensure its observance by their members, and**



### SUPPORT HIS DEMAND FOR LIVING WAGE

British capitalist coalmining and advocated the nationalisation of the pits as the first steps to solve the crisis in coal production then did not matter. Britain's Coal Barons still demanded their pound of flesh, and more than their pound of flesh from the miners.

Throughout the country there is a general agreement that capitalist ownership and control of the mines should be ended. Never was there such a favourable atmosphere for the introduction of this step. Even the middle class are clamouring for the ending of the capitalist sabotage. But how do the Labour leaders and Trade Union leaders face up to the situation? In confidential, private and even public statements they say that nationalisation with Labour to power is the solution. But in daily practice they capitulate to Churchill and his reactionary coal-owning class brothers.

The miners cannot successfully fight for adequate standards and allow the trade union and Labour leaders to remain in a coalition which strangles Labour and aids and protects the coalowners. The principal task to find a real solution to the crisis in coal is to force the leadership to break the coalition to fight for power on a socialist programme.

The miners are fully aware that the present period is the most favourable in mining history to win the maximum concessions from the ruling class. It is not only the strength of their own forces but the broad support which

to ensure that no support, financial or otherwise, is given by the parties, or by any of their constituent associations, to any member acting in breach of it."

However favourable the agreement struck may appear when it is finally published, and all the indications are that no important further concessions are contained sufficient to satisfy one tenth of the miners' demands, it is clear that the leaders have capitulated entirely to the Government and employers. They have placed the whole future of the miners in jeopardy, binding them hand and foot in case of future, even post-war industrial struggles.

In reply to the critics of their actions these misleaders yelp "disrupters." "You are splitting and destroying the Trade Union." But precisely by their actions they destroy the faith and solidarity of the workers and make them cynical of the Trade Unions.

The miners have built their Unions up in generations of bitter class struggles, the bones of thousands of martyrs have been ground to dust in the process. The Unions are still the basic weapons of the workers in the struggle against exploitation. To voluntarily allow the present leadership to hand them lock, stock and barrel to the boss class is to betray these generations of martyrs and to guarantee the destruction of the Trade Unions altogether. An entire new leadership must be created from the existing Lodge com-

mittees and rank and file, and the Quislings thrown out of control. The re-democratisation of the Union is one of the most important steps which the miners must take if the Unions are again to come under their own control.

Too long have the miners allowed themselves to be betrayed by permanent officials who have legal protection against removal from lifelong jobs. They must change the entire set-up in the leading bodies and be able to recall their leaders every year or couple of years.

The Union leaders prate about democracy but accept and agree to reactionary pro-fascist legislation. The system of arbitration, negotiations and agreements which they acclaim and accept is precisely the same system as the German Trade Union leaders accepted and agreed to, whilst the Nazi capitalists were preparing to crush the German Trade Union movement with the armed Nazi thugs.

The contempt of these so-called democrats for real democracy—workers democracy—is seen in their strike-breaking activities during the strikes. 100,000 Welsh miners were on strike for their right to live. Here was a tremendous demonstration of unity and democracy which has seldom been seen in Britain. But the self-styled democrats acted like dictators, or rather Quislings. They did not stand with the 100,000 miner democrats. They stood behind Churchill and the ruling class. They stood with notorious anti-democrats and helped them to disrupt the unity and democracy of the workers.

The most astonishing thing about the strike was not the betrayal of the leaders, that was predicted by us in advance. It was the spontaneous, widespread and explosive character of the strike; and the failure of the miners to throw up an ad hoc rank and file strike leadership. The most tremendous confusion existed as to what was happening over in the next valley, what was happening in the next pit.

The capitalists were not slow to seize upon this failure of the workers to set up a new leadership. In press and wireless they falsely informed the miners about what was happening from day to day. And in this they were ably seconded by official leaders.

A committee representing the Lodges and issuing authoritative bulletins from day to day would have dispelled this confusion—the result of boss class lies. It would have given the miners a truthful and authoritative statement of the real situation in each pit and district and maintained that solidarity which the employers sought so desperately to break.

Such a committee would also have had the task of informing the workers and soldiers throughout the country what the real situation is in the pits and why the miners were striking. Speakers should have been sent to the industrial centres to combat the lies of the boss-class and put the miners case.

These steps would have given more confidence to the organised miners themselves. But more than that, by rousing the active sympathy of the other sections of the workers would have guaranteed a quick victory for the miners and the granting of their entire demands.

The Stalinist "Communist" Party played a disgraceful role during the struggle. Renegades from communism, they were the most active organised force in breaking the strike; and thus defeating the ends of the workers. It is true that hundreds of rank and file Stalinist miners could not stomach the line and lies that the party leaders peddled around, and either remained silent or supported their class brothers in the course of the struggle. But the role of the leading Stalinists from Horner down to numerous leading Stalinists in the Lodges was clearly seen as that of scabs by thousands of the militant and most class-conscious workers.

"The Tories Want the Strikes," they said, "Hitler wants the strikes," they clamoured. They could not tell the miners that they didn't have just and real grievances. So they used the most

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# PLESSEY WORKERS REINSTATE CONVENOR

Prompt action in the way of a lightning strike of 8 to 10,000 workers of the Plessey Company, secured the speedy return to work of the Convenor, Bro. Barnard of the A.E.U.

The management, dire anti-Trade Union, ever on the watch to find an excuse to push militant workers out of the factory, claimed to have caught Bro. Barnard and another worker 'fooling' around. This was, they thought, an excellent excuse to discharge this brother. But they had not reckoned with the militant feeling of the workers (who are pushing for 1/6 an hour minimum for all women). Immediately it was known that Bro. Barnard had been discharged, his section downed tools and surrounded the Personnel Manager's Office. The news of this soon spread to the much larger section of the firm a short distance away and a solid stand was made there by the workers. After some lively exchange of remarks from the members of the Trade Union Committee (composed of shop stewards representing several unions in Plessey's) the management sensing the feeling of the workers, climbed down and reinstated Bro. Barnard.

This was a victory for organised labour over a notoriously reactionary firm. At a special meeting of the Plessey workers a few days after, the feeling of the workers of confidence in themselves was displayed. This feeling of the meeting was very perturbing to some well known Trade Union organisers of that area who told the workers not to keep 'bobbing up' at this critical stage of the war on the eve of the Second Front. **The Lessons to be Learnt**

At a period when hardly a week, or a few days, go by in which a shop steward or Convenor is discharged, this action of Plessey workers is a perfect example and lesson to be learnt by all workers who have their representatives thrown on to the streets by managements. Knowing the terrific struggles which are to take place in the near future between themselves and the workers, the employers are now endeavouring to cut the conscious militant leadership away from organised labour in the factories. The fining of Dessoutters only £15 for disobeying a N.S.O., has given the boss class the word GO to sack any militant worker who is prepared to fight managements for the rights of the working class, because £15 is cheap to get rid of a militant worker, whether the firm be small or large.

Where the so-called "Communist" Party have control of the factory and dampen down all militant feeling when a shop steward is sacked (this has been the case in large numbers of dismissals, especially in the London area of late) the workers must take cognisance of the action so ably demonstrated by the Plessey workers. They must see what can be accomplished by determined, organised sections of the working class. Dessoutters, Fords, L.A.P., not to mention the whole host of recent dismissals, must stand as a warning as to what will happen after the war, if we do not close our ranks now and return blow for blow against the boss class.

Workers, demand in your Trade Union branches, that your E.C. campaign through the T.U.C. for the repeal of the E.W.O. Demand that the Trade Union leaders take up the cudgels against the employers in the interest of the workers who they claim to represent.

Plessey Worker

# "Daily Worker" Conference

BY ALF SNOBEL

As an Allied victory looms ever nearer, more and more openly is the reactionary face of British capitalism becoming revealed to the working class. On the industrial field, in mass upsurge and strikes and on the political field by a growing movement to end the political truce as by-election results attest, the workers are moving ever more swiftly towards a shattering of class collaboration, towards independent class politics. The advancing wave of working class militancy is dreaded by the collaborationists—Labour and Liberal leaders, Tory and Stalinist leaders alike. The Labour and Stalinist leaderships have been instrumental in shackling the working class in the interests of capitalism, through the supine acceptance of vicious anti-working class legislation and a refusal to fight for workers' interests and demands. The growing unrest and distrust of collaborationist policies among the workers threatens these cowardly leaders and fills them with the fear of retribution.

Under the pressure of the masses, the Stalinist leadership now seeks while retaining its class collaboration policies, to produce a formula making them palatable to the rapidly leftward moving workers. To this end the Editorial Board of the "Daily Worker" has called a "Unity Conference" for April 2nd to which all "progressive bodies" are invited to send delegates. No doubt the young Tories are included!

Among the "progressives" (in reality the enemies of Labour) to be present at the Conference is Mr. Kendall, M.P. for Grantham. Apart from being an arch exploiter of labour in the district he has achieved notoriety as being the head of a firm indicted in parliament for double book-keeping, for exorbitant war profiteering at the taxpayer's expense. In his factory

and throughout his district he is known to the organised trade union workers as anti-union and anti-working class. Such a sample of "progressive elements" should be sufficient to demonstrate to the thinking workers that this is nothing more and nothing less than a new edition of Popular Frontism which led the workers to defeat after defeat before the war.

It was the C.P. Popular Frontism of pre-war days that sent the French workers to defeat and destruction at the hands of the French capitalist class and the Nazi hangmen; it was the Spanish Popular Front that delivered the fighting workers and peasants of Spain into the hands of Franco. In Britain the pre-war Popular Front of

the Stalinists was put forward in the name of "progressive unity" which disrupted the working class forces instead of uniting them. For example in 1938 the C.P. supported the Liberal candidate against Labour in the Aylesbury by-election, splitting the working class vote and putting C.P. worker against Labour worker. The C.P. supported in by-elections rank Tories such as the Duchess of Atholl, also in the name of "progressive unity".

The Unity Conference of April 2nd marks yet another milestone in Stalinism's treacherous betrayals of the working class. At the very moment that the C.P. is making its peace with post-war capitalism with the "progressive forces" of Britain as it euphemistically seeks to disguise it, the employers are preparing to unleash the biggest campaign of their existence against the working class. Already, they have embarked on the policy of a systematic attempt to smash the trade union organisation to clear the way for the post-war cut-throat competition in industry and consequent smashing of workers' rates and conditions.

By "progressive unity" conferences and similar deceptions the Stalinist leadership will only lead the workers to ignominious defeat. While these leaders are paving the way for post-war class collaboration and defeat the workers are moving left. The task of the revolutionary socialists is to lead the workers step by step to a realisation that not reformist class collaboration policies, but only revolutionary struggle can sweep away the injustices and degradations of the capitalist system. The task of the revolutionary communists is to wipe out the workers' illusions in the capitalist system and the capacity of reformism to cure its ills.

Every worker is in favour of unity. **But unity with whom and for what?** is the question which every worker must ask. All his life, Lenin fought against the merest suggestion that the workers can gain anything by "unity" with the class enemy. The lion and the lamb cannot unite together for the same interests. The interests of the working class can only be served by rallying the mass of the people round their class banner. The constant theme of Lenin's teaching was that only by the independent struggle of the workers, by relying on their own class solidarity and strength could the rights and conditions of the masses be defended and concessions be gained. But the capitalists, whether disguised as "progressives" or Liberals or as open Tories will only agree to unite with the workers on their terms, which must inevitably be in their interests and against the interests of the working class.

As Lenin pointed out when condemning the class collaboration of the Socialist Party in France, the Liberal capitalists will agree to put down fine programmes on paper in order to deceive the masses, but such programmes will remain on paper. Such is the programme of so-called "unity" put forward through the "Daily Worker" by the Communist Party.

The road to genuine working class unity lies in the fight of all progressive elements **round a fighting programme.** The labour movement itself must mobilise its forces to achieve its aims. Once aroused and organised there is no power on earth which can stand in its path. With a bold, fighting programme the progressive middle class elements will take their place at the side of the working class—without such a programme, the workers will follow in the wake of the middle class and be led to defeat.

The next step forward for the workers lies in the ending of the shameful truce, the shameful capitulation to Big Business on the part of the Labour and Trade Union leaders and even more shamefully, on the part of the Communist Party.

**Unity on a fighting programme!  
Unity to end the coalition and for Labour to take power on a socialist programme as the next step forward!**



J. W. KENDALL,  
Independent M.P. — One of the "Progressives" to attend the "Daily Worker" Unity Conference.

# NO PAY INCREASE FOR SOLDIERS

says EDEN

BY JIM HINCHLIFFE

The Government has declared itself against any increase in soldiers' pay.

"I do not accept," said Anthony Eden, "that a case has been made out for a flat increase in basic pay. That is our position."

Thus we see to what extent these "guardians of the rights of the people" are interested in the rights and welfare of the workers in uniform. Nothing could demonstrate more clearly the utmost disregard which is displayed towards the soldiers than this flat refusal to raise the miserable few shillings which are granted.

The position which, according to the Government, does not deserve any improvements, is already well known. The soldier is left with 17/6 a week after a compulsory allotment of 3/6 to his wife, who also receives 21/6 plus 18/- for two children, making a total of £2. 3. 0d. a week. Capt. Bellenger M.P. in urging an increase in Army pay, reported on two councillors who were—

"discussing arrears in rent for council houses. One said that, if the items were looked into, it would be seen that the great majority were Service people . . . if the Servicemen were taken out the arrears would be comparatively small. What better comment could there be on the inadequate rates of pay of Service men? . . ."

And the pitifully weak argument that the rates are in accordance with the cost-of-living scale, has been exposed

by Evelyn Walkden M.P. in the "Star" where he stated that—

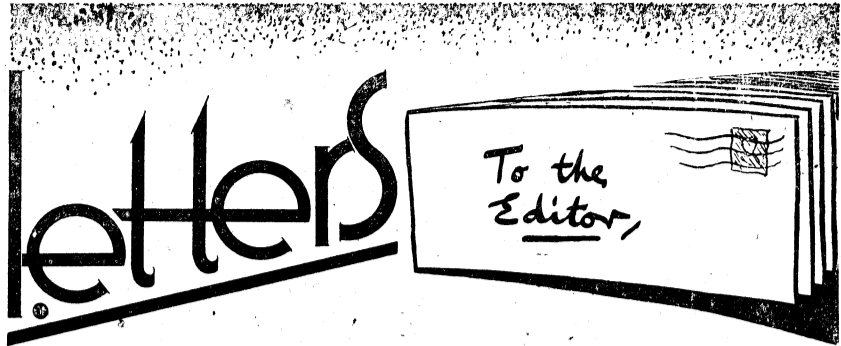
"There are many commodities not included in the cost-of-living assessment. Take greengrocery for instance. The retail selling price has gone up 150 per cent. Then again there is the question of bedding, blankets, sheets and pillow cases, for which the wife has to pay 100 per cent increase . . ."

and so on. Such arguments could be multiplied indefinitely.

Do not think however, that the Tories cannot answer these only too well known facts. A common theme ran through all the speeches of the reactionaries, which said in effect that after all, a soldier's wife can go out to work in order to supplement the income, and the real grievance which the soldiers have—is that industrial workers are getting far too much money!

In fact, both Captain Bernays and Major Taylor, two representatives of the British officer caste in Parliament, placed the emphasis of hardship upon the upper ranks of the army, saying that, "I do not believe that there is any extreme hardship, so far as pay is concerned, EXCEPT IN THE CASE OF LIEUTENANTS AND CAPTAINS

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## Theft from Karl Marx's Grave

Dear Comrade,

Commemorating the death of Karl Marx on March 14th, 1883, some members of the Fourth International paid homage to the founder of scientific socialism by laying down flowers with some greeting cards on his graveside at Highgate Cemetery on Sunday 12th.

It was a quiet Sunday afternoon and none else was present at the little ceremony. Soon after, a small group of young people turned up, apparently German speaking, who were later recognised as members of the so-called Austrian Centre, which is under direct Stalinist control.

Fearing no harm, our comrades went for a walk. When they returned an hour later the picture had changed completely. The greeting cards of the Fourth International had been removed. The grave was covered with a huge bunch of red roses instead, the ribbon showed the name "Austrian Communists" in golden letters. Absolutely no trace or sign of our greetings. Our comrades looked around in amazement. Of course, the Stalinist heroes had disappeared. New people had gathered round the grave to participate in the ceremony that was later held by the I.L.P.

Not only in the theoretical and political field are revolutionary workers forced to defend Marxism against the vilest distortions by those who call themselves "followers of Marx", they have to physically stand guard at his graveside to protect it against robbery. And these are the messages that have struck those renegades and cowards with horror and driven them to their act of theft. On the cards they read:

**"WORKERS OF THE WORLD UNITE" IS THE SLOGAN OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL. MARX' THEORY OF THE CLASS STRUGGLE IS RIGHT NOT ONLY IN PEACE TIME, BUT ALSO IN WAR TIME. IN THE MIDST OF WILFUL DISTORTIONS AND LIES, THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL CARRIES ON THE TRUE SPIRIT OF YOUR TEACHING.**

W. W.

## On the South African I.L.P.

The I.L.P. in boasting of its international connections has recently published articles praising the I.L.P. formed in South Africa and hailing it as a brother party. The letter published below from a South African Fourth Internationalist is a sufficient comment on the lightminded way in which the I.L.P. leadership is willing to join up with the most reactionary and chauvinistic elements who have nothing in common with Socialism or Internationalism.

Dear Comrades,

In the "New Leader" of 20th November, 1943, there was an article on the formation of a new Socialist Party in South Africa—the I.L.P. This I.L.P. is the amalgamation of dissatisfied careerists both in the Labour Party and the Communist Party and the P.L.G. (?)

Except in Johannesburg, where S. Sachs, the leader of the Party has his unions, this I.L.P. has made no headway, and in the last election, Sachs and the remaining two I.L.P. candidates all lost their deposits. Sachs who stood in a constituency densely populated by Garment workers, whom he has so ably organised into the Garment Workers' Union, could get no more than a few hundred votes. This I.L.P. is doomed to die at childbirth.

The article in the "New Leader" states that most of the slogans of the I.L.P. "deals exclusively with white labour problems", and attributes this to the fact that the I.L.P. was compelled to put forward such slogans because it happened to be election-time and only the whites have the vote.

It is perfectly true that in Johannesburg only whites have the votes, but it is not correct to say that Sachs moulded his slogans purely to suit his electorate (!). It is a known fact that Sachs and his crowd in the I.L.P. merely pay lip-service to the colour issue. They are more concerned with votes. The I.L.P. is again putting up candidates in the Municipal Elections in Johannesburg. Votes again is their main concern.

A Revolutionary Party in South Africa, if it is to be worthy of its name, must take up the cudgels against white Supremacy, and demand full equality for all sections of the South African people, irrespective of race, colour and creed. In South Africa the Bourgeois-Democratic revolution has yet to be completed—the people have yet to gain what the French people gained in 1789. 80 per cent. of our people have no vote nor the right of direct representation in our "democratic" Parliament. They have not the right to move freely, their movement being restricted by Pass laws, curfews, etc.; they have not the right to stay where they please but are herded into reserves, locations and compounds; they have not even the right to sell their labour wherever they please; in fact in the eyes of the law, our African workers are not even considered as employees or labourers. It is illegal for them to strike. For the Black man, as Trotsky correctly said, South Africa is truly a slave colony.

From the little I have said above, you will see that the slogan of the P.L.G. for Socialism will not attract a mass following, while our white workers are chauvinistic and reactionary earn /1 a day and while the majority of our common people suffer under feudal and semi-feudal conditions. We have to go to our people and express in words, and perform in deeds, their innermost feelings and aspirations, viz: **Full equality, full democratic rights for all; Down with the colour bar and all forms of segregation; for the division of the land among the landless, and for National Independence.**

With such slogans we can approach the millions of oppressed non-Europeans in South Africa and feel sure that they will respond. With such slogans we can complete the tasks of the bourgeois revolution, and triumphantly march forward to the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

With comradely greetings,  
M. Bledin.

## Bro. Joe Miller Victimised

Within a few hours of his being elected as Works Convenor at Philco Radio, Bro. Joe Miller, a member of the A.E.U., was informed that his release was being applied for on the grounds of redundancy.

Bro. Miller was elected to replace a Convenor who had accepted a staff appointment.

When the management refused permission for a general meeting of the workers to discuss the question an unofficial meeting in the Works Canteen was addressed by the brother concerned and the view taken by the workers was that the Convenor be the last to go.

The management replied to this by issuing release notes to everyone in the small sub-toolroom where Miller was employed. C.I.D. men visited the factory and threatened him with prosecution for having convened an unauthorised meeting in a protected establishment.

As this case follows the recent victimisation of several Convenors and Shop Stewards particularly in Bro. Miller's area, it becomes clear, that the employers through the medium of the E.W.O. are making a bold effort to smash factory organisation as a prelude to launching an onslaught on the workers' wages and conditions.

They proceed from the premise that once the leading factory militants are cleared out of the way the workers will become easy meat for exploitation.

It is becoming realised by the workers that the discharge of I.U. militants is a direct attack upon themselves and that they must use every weapon at their disposal to prevent it. If they rely on the leading bureaucrats to make a stand, their organisation will fall to pieces. The urgent task is to clear out those who have sold out and replace them with new leaders who will lead the workers into battle and victory and not endless retreats.

The E.W.O. is a piece of vicious anti-working class legislation which could easily be ended if the workers had a leadership genuinely reflecting the desires of the rank and file. The E.W.O. is dressed up as acting impartially on behalf of the workers and employers.

Our prediction that the clauses in the Order laying down conditions for taking proceedings against employers was a sham and a farce, have been proved correct in every case. The legislation is being used to clip off the militant head of the factory workers' organisation.

**READ**  
**The Death Agony of Capitalism**  
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THE PROGRAMME OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL  
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# CLYDE PLUMBERS CLAIM 3/- PER HOUR

After decisively rejecting a proposed system of Payment by Results, the plumbers of Stephens Shipyard on the Clyde have adopted 3/- per hour basic rate as the only possible solution to their domestic problems. They have the support of all the plumbers in the 25th district, which includes the Clyde and Ayrshire but realising the radical nature of their claim, they call on other grades for support.

The majority of trades in the shipbuilding industry are paid 1/10½ per hour. Some work on a bonus system which gives them an illusory few shillings a week. The plumbers are not on bonus and have wisely rejected it. Coupled with the increased cost of living and the burden of income tax, this is causing widespread discontent. As a clear indication of this the Boilermakers' Shop Stewards have formed an Association on a claim for 3/- per hour minimum rate, the need for which arose as a result of the introduction of new welding methods and Pre-fabrication making piece work prices obsolete and as a consequence making wages very unstable. This claim has been turned down by the employers. The Boilermakers, it should be made clear, embrace a number of different workers—Riveters, Caulkers, Hole-Borers, Platers, Sheet Iron Workers, Welders, etc., better known as the 'Black Squad'. The Shipwright Shop Stewards also got together on the basis of a claim for a system of Payment by Results, with a 3/- per hour security rate. It will be remembered they had a strike lasting 3 weeks for this. They were unsuccessful. As an indirect indication, the Confederation of Trade Unions have put forward a claim for 10/- per week increase which is undoubtedly a result of pressure from the rank and file. Now the Plumbers of 25th district have decided on 3/- per hour. The plumbers see the possibility and the necessity of linking up with these and other trades if possible. They realise the impossibility of gaining it on their own.

The manager-owner of this yard, J. Stephens, approached the plumbers with a system of Payment by Results, about 8 months ago. It was decisively rejected by a large majority. The details of the scheme were not even considered by the men, so hostile were they towards it. They realise it would mean being split into sections, each drawing a different bonus. Not content with this and still determined to push it through, Stephens again approached the plumbers. A meeting was held on 21/1/44. His offer to speak was refused. Extra time was allowed and facilities given for men working outside to attend. The men again rejected it with only three votes cast in favour of having it read. Further, Stephen was informed that the meeting had decided that P.B.R. was a closed book and was not to be raised again. The meeting also decided to adopt the demand for 3/- per hour basic rate as an increase in wages. The reason they insist on 3/- basic rate is because the present basic rate is 1/1d. and they know this will be the wage after the war, when the employers will make drastic economies as a result of world competition. This is also the reason for P.B.R., which can be taken away more easily than an increase on the basic rate. The meeting also decided to put the proposal to the Shop Stewards Committee of the Yard, where it was also accepted and steps taken to notify other Yards with a view to a mass meeting.

A meeting of the Plumbers' Shop Stewards in the 25th District was held shortly afterwards, as a result of the efforts of Stephens Plumbers' Shop Stewards. There was a good representation and the proposal was accepted. Three shop stewards were in favour of immediate action and said they would have a job keeping their men in.

A further meeting was held on 19/2/44 to formulate a policy of getting the claim put into operation. Leaflets were distributed to advertise the meeting. Three or four rank and file members were to attend along with the shop stewards. Over 100 were present representing 40 establishments. A 5-point proposal for contacting other trades which had been issued as a leaflet by Stephens' Plumbers was adopted. A copy was given to each delegate to take to other shop stewards in other trades with a request for a meeting of the men in his department and a reply. The expenses of the delegates and the meeting were met by the Trade Union.

The movement has the sanction and support of the District Committee

The C.P. were in operation at this meeting but failed miserably to develop any opposition. Saunders, C.P. organiser, who is still in the Union although out of the trade, moved that the movement was unconstitutional but was ruled out of order by the chairman, who pointed out that the D.C. had agreed to it at a previous meeting. Another C.P.er was ejected for disruption and, when a vote of confidence was taken in the work of the Stephens' Plumbers' Shop Stewards, only five voted against—all C.P.ers. A member of the forces was present and spoke in support of the movement. It was a very stormy but successful meeting.

Shanks, now paid organiser of the C.P. controlled Shop Stewards movement, made attempts to get the Plumbers to adopt P.B.R. at this Yard at which he worked, but was unsuccessful. It is significant that the apathy which existed as a result of his policy of "National Unity" has now been dispelled on the basis of a militant lead.

The workers now feel the Union is theirs.

It can readily be seen that a sound basis for unity exists around the demand for 3/- per hour. Steps will have to be taken and are being taken to link up nationally. The Shop Stewards' Committees must be strengthened; those who have forgotten they were elected to represent the interests of the workers must go, and be replaced by genuine militants. A lesson must be learned from Rolls Royce where the C.P. dominated Shop Stewards' Committee was able to strangle a movement of 25,000 workers in a struggle to enforce the Women's Relaxation Agreement of 1940. Get your departments to hold meetings on this question. Have it raised at the Shop Stewards' Committee. Attend your Branch and move a resolution on the question. Do as the Plumbers are doing—make the Union function in your interests.

J.M.



	£	s.	d.
Already acknowledged ...	62	5	10
Leith Dockers ...	1	0	0
J.R. (Edinburgh) ...	1	0	0
A.P. (Merthyr) ...	1	0	0
Pte. J.R. ...	2	6	
Southall W.I.L. ...	11	6	
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# SOCIALIST APPEAL

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## FOR IRISH FREEDOM

The British and American imperialists have presented Eire with a demand that she break off diplomatic relations with Germany and Japan. This demand exposes the hypocrisy of Anglo-American imperialism's war aims and their pretence to be waging a war for the rights of small nations to determine their own destiny.

In spite of the fact that the issue is raised now of alleged information being passed through the Axis Embassies, pressure against Ireland has been maintained throughout the war. If no invasion of Southern Ireland has taken place, it is not at all because of any moral scruples, but fear of the consequences. On balance, the imperialists decided they would lose more than they would gain—that is all.

The question of sanctions is a piece of arrant hypocrisy. The British imperialists have carried on an unofficial blockade of Ireland for years already in order to exert pressure on the Irish Government to change its policy. Despite Ireland's neutrality, as a consequence of Britain's policy the conditions of the masses have been reduced to a pitiable level far below the standards of the British masses, and Irish industry has been forced almost to a standstill. Hundreds of thousands of Irish men and women have thus been forced by unemployment and economic pressure to emigrate to Britain to join the British Armed Forces or to work in British industry.

As a measure of reprisal, following American representations, the British Government has refused to allow anyone in the British Isles to travel to Ireland except on urgent business which has the approval of the Permits Office. Thus hundreds of thousands of Irish workers and soldiers in Britain will be penalised and refused permission to visit their homes and families on leave.

For centuries Ireland was under the bloody yoke of British imperialism. The masses in Ireland have waged a long and bitter struggle for freedom. It is the revolutionary tradition of the Irish workers and peasants which the imperialists fear above all else. Well do they remember the Easter rising in Dublin of 1916. The insurrection of the Irish workers to gain independence, led by James Connolly falls this month. Connolly's memory is honoured by the revolutionary workers and by the Irish masses all over the world.

The British capitalists have good reason to fear this tradition. Despite the armies of the Black and Tans from 1918 to 1920, they could not hold Ireland down. Though they cut Ireland in two they did not succeed in maintaining their grip on the 26 counties.

The capitalist press has been waging a terrific campaign of incitement and hatred against the Irish workers. They have commenced a campaign of spy-mania against the Irish workers in Britain. British workers should understand the real motives behind this campaign. It is to pit the Irish and British workers against each other in the interests of British capitalism. British workers must not fall into this trap.

The hundreds of thousands of Irish workers in Britain, and the hundreds of thousands more of Irish descent will play a big role in the struggles of the British working class—but only

(Continued foot of next Column.)

# FUSION RESOLUTION

Adopted at the Fusion Conference, March 12-13, 1944

For the past ten years, whilst in fundamental agreement on the principles and programme of the Fourth International, the British Trotskyists have been split on questions of tactics. These splits took place during a period of great defeats for the international working class and consequent reaction within the workers' organisations and were mainly a product of the isolation of the British Trotskyist movement.

But this period is now at an end. The war has led to the beginning of a new stage of the class struggle and in the development of the international labour movement. Once again the workers are gathering their forces for great class battles. Trotskyism, as a tendency, is beginning to merge with the rising tide of militancy and socialist aspirations of the working class.

In Britain, this new upsurge has resulted in favourable conditions for the growth and development of the Trotskyist movement. To utilise these favourable conditions to the full, the forces of the Fourth International must be unified into one organisation, under a single and united leadership, and with a firm and resolute policy based upon the Principles, Programme and Statutes of the Fourth International, and reinforced by majority decisions on the political and tactical questions which separate the comrades.

Together with the International Secretariat of the Fourth International the members of the two existing Trotskyist organisations have decided to end the splits in the British movement and to unite all Fourth Internationalists under one banner. At this Conference the assembled delegates of the hitherto separate organisations—the Revolutionary Socialist League (B.S.F.I.) and the Workers' International League—declare the fusion of these two organisations into one single party—the Revolutionary Communist Party, British Section of the Fourth International.

The past clashes on the political questions engendered deep cleavages between the leading personnel, and embittered the relations between the

members of the organisations. An important task for the leadership of the new organisation is to introduce a real comradeship into the political discussions and life of the party, and to sweep away all the vestiges of the bitter disputes of the past. In the interests of the fusion, this Conference therefore dissolves all past organisational conflicts and disputes and closes the discussion on these questions in the British Section.

The unification of the British Trotskyists is a great step forward for our national and international movement and will be heartily welcomed and endorsed by the members of the Fourth International the world over.

The members of the Revolutionary Communist Party, British Section of the Fourth International, appeal to all isolated comrades who stand on the platform of the Fourth International, to join its ranks and take their place in deciding the outcome of the great historic battles which open out before the working class.

The unification of the Fourth Internationalists takes place in the period of the dissolution of the Third International, and when the open degeneration of its national sections into agencies of the ruling class is shattering the unity of the Stalinist ranks. In ever increasing numbers these militants are finding their way into the ranks of the Fourth International.

In uniting our forces at this Fusion Conference, the assembled delegates appeal to all who genuinely seek to achieve the international socialist emancipation of the working class, to join the Revolutionary Communist Party and fight under the banner of the Fourth International.

**Socialist Workers! Communist Workers! The Fourth International is the World Party of Socialist Revolution. It is the ONLY international party of the working class. On its banner is inscribed the slogan of the First International—'Workers of the World Unite! You have nothing to lose but your chains—You have a world to gain.'**

## The Party Launched

(Continued from page 1)

programme and statutes of the Fourth International as laid down in the Foundation Conference Documents in 1938. The Fusion Resolution is published elsewhere in this issue.

Apart from the Fusion Resolution, others were discussed and adopted on Perspectives, Military Policy, Industry, and a new constitution was agreed upon. These documents will be available to our supporters and sympathisers.

In these documents are laid the basis for the only programme for the British workers which will lead to the overthrow of the capitalist system and the establishment of a communist Britain.

The political and tactical differences discussed revolved mainly around the orientation of the Trotskyists towards the Labour Party, and the Military Policy.

Although differences still exist, these will be further discussed and solved within the new united and firmly knit revolutionary party.

In adopting the name of Revolutionary Communist Party we seek to wrest the banner of communism which has been so foully besmirched by Pollitt and the other leaders of the

if they too refuse to allow themselves to be separated from their British class brothers. They have a great tradition—the tradition of James Connolly. He linked up the Irish struggle for freedom with the struggle for Socialism.

Fighting together with the British workers for a Socialist United Ireland and a Socialist Britain is the way forward for the Irish working class.

so-called Communist Party. Our party name reflects our tradition. Trotskyism is communism and in this we have the duty to salvage not only the ideas, but also the name which is identified with the Russian and the World Socialist Revolution. At the very moment of meeting, the renegades from Communism were acting as strike-breakers and as agents of the class enemy in the Welsh coalfields, and the miners were receiving practical lessons in what follows from Stalin's theory of "Socialism in One Country." Thousands of the flower of British workers are turning away from the so-called "Communist" Party bewildered and discontented, yet retaining their ideals and beliefs in world communism.

The name of the new party poses sharply to these workers seeking the road of revolution, the difference between His Majesty's "Communist" Party—which supports the imperialist war; which has tied the workers to the government of the class enemy; which has betrayed their daily struggles throughout the country and which is preparing further betrayals in the post-war period—and the REVOLUTIONARY Communist Party, which opposes the imperialist war, which supports every manifestation of independent working class activity, and which offers the programme of communism which alone can hold out hope and perspective for the tolling people.

While the Third International has been shattered and the forces of Stalinism the world over are degenerating, the young and vigorous forces of the new Fourth International are gathering and solidifying to face

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## Our Programme for Power

AN END TO THE COALITION WITH THE BOSSES. LABOUR AND TRADE UNION LEADERS MUST BREAK WITH THE CAPITALIST GOVERNMENT AND WAGE A CAMPAIGN FOR POWER ON THE FOLLOWING PROGRAMME:—

- Industrial and Economic Policy**
1. Nationalisation of the land, mines, banks, transport and all big industry without compensation, as the prerequisite for a planned economy and the only means of ensuring full employment with adequate standards of living for the workers, and the operation of the means of production under control of workers' committees.
  2. Confiscation of all war profits, all company books to be open for trade union inspection, control of production through workers' committees to end the chaos and mismanagement.
  3. Distribution of food, clothes and other consumers commodities under the control of committees of workers elected from the Co-ops, distributive trades, factories, housewives' committees, and small shopkeepers, and allocation of housing under the control of tenants' committees.
  4. A rising scale of wages to meet the increased cost of living with a guaranteed minimum; the rate for the job; and industrial rates for all members of the armed forces.

- Democratic Demands**
5. Repeal of the Essential Works Order, the Emergency Powers Act and all other anti-working class and strike-breaking legislation.
  6. Full electoral and democratic rights for all persons from the age of 18 years. Full democratic and political rights for the men and women in uniform.
  7. Immediate freedom and unconditional independence for India, Ireland and all the colonies of Britain; immediate withdrawal of British armed forces from these countries; full economic and military assistance to the Indian and colonial peoples to maintain their independence against all imperialist attack.

- Military Policy**
8. Clear out the reactionary, pro-fascist, and anti-labour officer caste in the armed forces and Home Guard; election of officers by the ranks.
  9. Establishment of military schools by the Trade Unions at the expense of the state for the training of worker-officers; arming of the workers under the control of workers' committees elected in the factories, unions and in the streets for the defence of the democratic rights of the workers from reactionary attacks by the enemies of the working class at home and abroad.

- International Policy**
10. Against race hatred and discrimination of all forms (Vansittartism, Anti-Semitism, and the Colour Bar); for the fraternisation and co-operation of workers and soldiers of all countries.
  11. Unconditional defence of the Soviet Union against all imperialist powers; despatch of arms, food and essential materials to the Soviet Union under the control of the Trade Unions and factory committees.
  12. A Socialist appeal to the workers of Germany, Europe, Japan, and the rest of the world, on the basis of this programme in Britain, to join the socialist struggle against Nazism, Fascism and all forms of capitalist oppression and for a Socialist United States of Europe and a Federation of Asiatic Soviet Socialist Republics.

the historic tasks of the working class. The period of splits and diffusion is at an end, the period of unification and regeneration is opening up.

The assembled delegates and members of the Revolutionary Communist Party, British Section of the Fourth International left with confidence and determination that a new chapter in the history of the British working class was opened.

Long live the Fourth International!

M.L.

# AMRITSAR STALIN and BADOGLIO Soldiers' Pay

On the 13th of April, 1919, thousands of Indians assembled in a park in Amritsar. Many of them had come to protest against the Rowlatt Act and the humiliating crawling order. Many of them were simple peasants from the surrounding villages enjoying a holiday. All of them were unarmed.

Suddenly, without warning, shots were fired from the grounds facing the entrance to the park. Hundreds of people dropped dead and thousands were injured. The shooting continued till the ammunition was exhausted. For this, Butcher Dyer, who organised the massacre received a public purse of £20,000 from the British Tories as a "saviour of the Empire."

This is one of the many demonstrations by the British ruling class to show that they had "conquered India my the Sword" and "held her by the Sword." It also opened the eyes of many Indians who were blindly led into supporting the war of 1914-1918 by the slogans of the British imperialists to grant freedom to India.

In two ways the Amritsar massacre marks a landmark in the long struggle of the Indian masses for freedom. Till then the masses had remained generally passive. Apart from the small groups of middle class terrorist students, the national movement was dominated by constitutionalists. From 1919, the Indian National Congress became a mass organisation. Under the pressure of the masses, from now on, it had to profess irreconcilable struggle against British imperialism. Secondly, it brought into the struggle millions of workers and peasants. From that day, every struggle for freedom inevitably transforms itself into a struggle for land.

On this anniversary of the Amritsar massacre, the British workers must be reminded of the character of British Imperialism. A veritable reign of terror is imposed on the Indian masses. Thousands of them have been shot and thousands are in concentration camps. ~~Famine and epidemics have killed millions of people.~~ Still the struggle of the Indian masses for freedom continues. Let us pledge our solidarity and active support in their struggle.

## Miners' Strikes

(Continued from page 2)

reactionary arguments of the jingo Tories that the miners were letting the boys on the front lines down, helping Hitler, aiding fascism and stabbing the soldiers in the back.

"Don't allow yourselves to be provoked into strike action and weakening the fight against fascism by the Tories," they argued. After the war we will really deal with the boss class as they deserve. But the workers who had fallen for this line in the first year or so after Russia was attacked have long gone past that stage in their political evolution. The most advanced of them see the capitulation of the Yankee Stalinist party to American imperialism by folding up shop and accepting capitalism for the next generation and are drawing correct political conclusions: that the so-called Communist Party is not communist at all, and has blue blood instead of red.

It is perfectly clear to all but those who wish to remain blind that the discontent in the pits will not be eliminated until basic changes are made in the miners' wages and conditions. Even if the leaders manage to come back with some concessions they can only be a stop-gap and the struggle will break out again.

Many Lodges of the miness' Union in S. Wales have indicated that they want area conferences to hand in 21 days strike notice unless their demands are met. Others have put forward the original £6 minimum wage with corresponding increases for the skilled workers and the retention of all existing rights and conditions. The task of the serious militant elements among the miners is to create a new unity of the miners around an agreed and unified demand, and to popularise that demand throughout every pit and factory in the country.

Those who see the tremendous struggles that lie ahead and who wish to play their part in these struggles will tell the workers the truth and consciously organise to lead the work-

(Continued at foot next column)

Continued from page 1.

are trying to build up, and the court camarilla around Badoglio and King Victor Emmanuel.

**LET IT BE A LESSON TO THOSE AMONG OUR OWN LEADERS WHO SEEK TO RESURRECT THE STRUTTING FIGURES OF THE PAST.**

**FOR THE LEADERS OF THIS TIDE OF REVOLT ARE NOT THOSE WHO TRIED TO ESCAPE THE CONSEQUENCES OF THEIR CRIMES BY CLIMBING ON THE VICTORS' BANDWAGON (i.e. Badoglio, Emmanuel and Co.), but the tried and true anti-Fascist parties from Catholic to Communist, who fought and opposed the Italian Fascists as the enemies of mankind."**

The rest of the article is in the same strain. Attempting to "reason" with the imperialists to abandon their former-fascist puppets and support the mass movement of the Italian people to rid themselves of these elements.

On the Monday the Stalinist rag was enthusiastically hailing the protest of the Italian masses, on the Tuesday the news came through that far from "our rulers" having learned from the Italian events, the Soviet bureaucracy had apparently gone much further than even the Allied imperialists had dared to go, and had recognised the Badoglio regime outright.

Thus the Stalinist bureaucracy has added one more to the list of crimes against the working class and has taken another decisive step in violation of the traditions of Leninism. This is a deliberate stab in the back against the heroic working class of Italy and against the Socialist revolution. And it indicates that the Stalinist bureaucracy has understood the "lesson" of the events in North Italy too well.

Even under the iron heel of the Nazis the Italian workers in the industrial North are showing their strength and their movement towards Socialism. Already today in Italy in the agricultural South the policy of the Stalinists of supporting the Allies has resulted in a split in the Communist Party. The Stalinist bureaucrats are afraid that to remove Badoglio would be to unleash the forces of the Socialist revolution to a pitch beyond their control; that it would not stop at the treacherous stage of Popular Frontism, but that the workers in the industrial North once "liberated" would move irresistibly in the direction of the Socialist revolution, smashing the Stalinist organisations in the process. This would constitute a mortal danger to the usurpers in the Kremlin and for that reason they prefer, if possible, to bolster up the reactionary and dictatorial regime of Badoglio which has no democratic support among the Italian people.

This is one of the reasons for the policy of Stalinism, in recognising the reactionary Badoglio government. Another reason is the differences among the so-called "United Nations." Bas-

ers to industrial and socialist victory. In Scotland the militant miners committees are being formed as part of this conscious preparation. It will not be long before the Welsh, Durham, Yorkshire and other miners are doing the same.

To sum up the lessons of the strike: 1. "Mr. Churchill makes it clear that it is more important to preserve the most brutal and reactionary of private interests than to maintain the war effort at its full strength." Aneurin Bevan, "Tribune", March 17th.

Then clear out the Churchill Government, Aneurin, and put in a Government that has different class interests from Churchill's gang.

Break the coalition with the Tories and force the Labour and Trade Union leaders to fight for power on a programme of Socialist demands.

2. The Union bureaucracy is destroying the unity, solidarity and fighting class spirit of the basic organisations of the working class. They have converted the workers' organisations into auxiliary instruments of the ruling class.

Democratise the Unions from top to bottom. End the system of comfortable life jobs and make the officials recallable every year at conference. Root out the dead wood and quislings

ing himself on an agreement with British and American imperialism against the Socialist Revolution, nevertheless Stalin is afraid of his Allies and attempts to manoeuvre in the game of power politics in the same way as they do. They have been bolstering up Badoglio as a prop against the Italian workers but also to serve their imperialist interests. Not in the least interested in democracy and freedom, they have postponed the question of the regime in "liberated" Italy till the capture of Rome. They have done this with the obvious intention of strengthening the monarchy and its accomplices and agents and facing the masses with a fait accompli. But the Stalinists, to use the old phrase "have been getting in first."

In a leading article, the "Times" reveals the annoyance of the British imperialists and demands the co-ordination of the foreign policy of the Allied powers, but at the same time it cannot repress its malicious glee at the discredit which Stalin's policy brings on the Soviet Union in Italy. In the "Times" of March 15th we read:

**"Many persons who have hitherto regarded them (Badoglio and the monarchy) as standing for every sort of anti-democratic influence and Soviet Russia as a pattern for all virtues will be compelled to change their view when they see the King and Marshal Badoglio exchanging friendly messages with Marshal Stalin. Thus the scales will be for the moment appreciably tilted in favour of the monarchy and against the republic."**

The Stalinists in Italy have based their whole policy on a fake struggle against Badoglio. Yesterday the British Stalinists made the same empty gestures. Now they write on the recognition of this gangster regime:

**"It seems probable that the British Government will follow the Soviet Government in establishing direct diplomatic relations with the Badoglio Government."**

And in its leader column this organ of conscienceless hacks in some embarrassment, writes with feigned pride of the exorcising of the "Bolshevik Bogey" by this latest example of Stalinist diplomacy. They write truer than they think. By this new act, the Stalinist bureaucrats show clearly that they stand on the other side of the class barricades. But these traitors are mistaken. No power in the world will be able to dam the tide of mass revolt that is developing in Europe. Today the heroic Italian workers are defying the terror of the Gestapo and the S.S. Tomorrow, no Badoglio, no King will be able to hold them down. The Allies may dream of supporting these reactionaries with the aid of Anglo-American bayonets. The workers and soldiers of Britain and America will not allow themselves to be used to repress the revolt of their class brothers struggling for Socialism. Together with the workers of Europe and Russia they will establish the Socialist United States of Europe.

and create a new militant leadership from bottom to top. These steps are essential to breaking the stranglehold of the state on the Trade Unions and to re-invigorating the Unions with the fighting programme of the working class.

3. The existing leadership may swing left under mass pressure but they will be incapable of leading and directing a real struggle because of their conservative ties. This leadership can only lead the workers to defeat in the coming days if it remains in charge of the miners helm.

In any case they will be together with the bosses in the immediate struggles that lie ahead.

Create a new leadership from the Lodges and from the rank and file.

Form Militant Miners' Committees, link up pit with pit, district with district, coalfield with coalfield—and miners with other militant sections of the working class.

4. The lack of a miners' paper with a national and widespread circulation limits the possibility of the miners to popularise their case and combat the lies of the coal-owners.

Get hold of a paper—the Militant Miner. Popularise the miners' case and unite the miners around a programme of fighting demands.

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"(Major Taylor) and again, "During the nine months that I spent in the ranks I found it possible to live on the pay . . . in one respect AN OFFICER'S POSITION IS WORSE THAN A MAN . . ." (Capt. Bernays).

What an almost incredible position! The soldier's 2/6 a day is considered satisfactory, but the lieutenant's 13/- and the Captain's 16/6 a day, are considered as cases of "extreme hardship"! But please remember the SOCIAL POSITION of the officers, they could not be allowed, these gentlemen claim, to "count every single penny" in the way that the worker is compelled to do, here it is a question of QUALITY! and so we see the class outlook oozing through the widening cracks in the Coalition.

The Government's opposition to an increase on the basic pay is largely based upon the bogey of inflation—as if, with yearly expenditure of over £5,000,000,000, an extra £200,000,000 would make the decisive difference! Not only that but as a Common Wealth M.P. suggested, why not try "collecting SOME of the money which is being dodged by E.P.T." It provides a grim contrast—and a warning—to those post-war promises and plans which involve the expenditure of hundreds of millions of pounds, and indicates the attitude which will be adopted when the time comes for the carrying out of these plans.

A willingness has nevertheless been expressed by the Government to make concessions. Anthony Eden also stated that—"we would go into discussions without commitments"—another fine example of the kind of "concessions" which the Government are prepared to hand out to the masses. They cannot consider any actual increases—but are willing to discuss the matter. They are not prepared to make any cash concessions—but are prepared to make verbal concessions!

The attitude of the Labour M.P.s was one of retreat and capitulation in face of the Government's opposition. Mr. Shinwell admitted being almost "completely disillusioned" as a result of the debate,—did he expect the Tory dominated Government to EASILY grant concessions! One M.P. pointed out that the Government has only granted concessions as a result of strike action, giving the miners and the "Bevin Boys" etc. as illustrations, and Shinwell carried this half a step further, saying—

**"I am not suggesting that the men should have some kind of Trade Union organisation; we are the custodians of the rights of these men . . . that is why we are all here."**

What staunch and valiant "custodians" are those who almost capitulate before the battle starts! Whilst admitting that the workers obtain pay increases only through militant action, they are the gentlemen who repeatedly urge the workers to be patient, to continue working etc.—presumably considering that the workers should entrust their fate in their tender hands—the hands of compromise and capitulation, of cowardice covered over by radical phrasemongering, of servile adaptation to the interests of imperialism!

The rapacious representatives of Big Business, the Tories, while refusing even a small advance in pay to the Armed Forces are quite willing to pour millions in war profits into the pockets of the capitalists. But the Labour and Trade leaders on this as on all other questions have capitulated to the Tories after the most fainthearted and weak-kneed pretence at opposition, at the first sign of Tory resistance. The workers in the unions and constituencies must bring pressure to bear upon the Labour and Trade Union bureaucrats to wage a struggle on behalf of the workers in the Armed Forces and their dependants. Solidarity of the workers in overalls with the workers in uniform must be the keynote of proletarian demands. The workers in Civity Street must support their class brothers in uniform, in their demands for increased pay and allowances.

**Trade Union Wages For All Workers In The Armed Forces!**